2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

dissimilar parts by a range of heights running north and south of which Dodabetta ('big mountain') is the tallest . . .

East and south of the Dodabetta range . . . the plateau . . . is extensively cultivated by the immigrant tribe known as the Badagas. This does not improve its appearance; the great forests have mostly been felled and their place taken by the poorest low scrub or by fields of miserable cereals surrounding the squat red-tiled houses of numerous hamlets; the country is deeply scoured by every shower of rain until the infertile red and yellow sub-soil clays are laid bare; and, owing to the Badagas' former custom of shifting their cultivation from year to year to new patches of land, grass has been prevented from getting any firm hold on the denuded hill-sides. Only on the slopes of the plateau (which are too steep for cultivation) and in a few isolated Government reserves, does the forest flourish in its virgin beauty.

West of Dodabetta, however, the Badagas are more rare; hardly a field or a village (except the little clusters of huts belonging to the pastoral Tódas) is to be seen; and the country consists of a sea of rounded green hills, rising now and again into more prominent heights and ranges, which are covered with short grass . . . These rounded hills are divided each from each by streams or bogs, and nestling in their wrinkles are beautiful little woods, . . . the edges of which have been so sharply defined by years of grazing and (perhaps) grass fires that they look almost like artificial plantations. . . .(Francis. 1908, 3-5).

A few of the village names defy any interpretation—either by me or by my best informants—probably because they have changed too much to be recognizable now as Baḍagu substantives. But leaving these aside we still have in the list of toponyms which follows a corpus of 311 meaningful toponyms for a community of about 362 hamlets, 18 of them no longer occupied. Some toponyms are repeated in several places, (e.g., Naḍuhaṭṭi, 'middle hamlet', or Hosaṭṭi, 'new hamlet'); numbers given after some explanations indicate where such a toponym occurs more than once in the Nilgiris. We will now examine the meanings of the toponyms, which are given here in a phonemic transcription of Badagu (a Dravidian language).

21 Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

and bees-wax. Other exports of the later nineteenth century were coffee, tea, potato, barley, resin, silk and hides.

AGRICULTURAL CHANGE OVER THE PAST CENTURY

Until 1863 the Badagas not only cultivated fields close to the villages but also practised shifting agriculture in the wooded areas. At that time the government abolished, at least formally, the system of swidden cultivation and thereby posed a serious threat to those Badaga farmers who had depended on it (for full details, see Grigg, 1880, 314–327). According to government experts swidden farming was wasteful of timber resources and led to soil erosion. More significantly, though, there was also an eagerness among British settlers to cover vast tracts of the Nilgiris with tea and coffee plantations. In 1863 the British abolished the revenue system current in the Kundena:du area,[7] which had involved issuing a licence for each hoe and each plough without otherwise taxing or delimiting the land a man could cultivate or recording what acreage he was entitled to use. Until these restrictions came into effect many Badaga farmers made periodic use of lands five to ten times as extensive as their revenue assessments justified.[8] By about 1880 these restrictions, legislated during 1862–1864, had become realities in all parts of the Nilgiris.

The rapidly increasing Badaga population was now faced with a depleted acreage of usable farmland, a situation that worsened with erosion and land sales. For the first time in history their fields, once surveyed and registered in accordance with the Land Settlement rules, came to have a monetary value—especially as under the Waste Land Rules a man's land could be auctioned and thus irretrievably lost if he became too much in arrears with the payment of land revenue. A farmer therefore tried to hold on to as much registered land as he could.[9]

The British land legislation did not cause an immediate shortage of land among the Badagas. On the contrary, Grigg notes (1880, 480) that in the 1870s land was so 'cheap' that the Badagas who did own some or bought more tried to cultivate areas that were too large for their resources, with the result that their labour and capital were spread too thinly across the land to produce adequate returns. The slim yield of soil not properly fertilized and skimpy cultivation of too large an area impelled the poorer farmers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to sell land to British

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

177 423 planters or to engage in new occupations so as to earn enough cash to maintain themselves and pay the revenue assessments on their land (Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 64; Grigg, 1880, 325, 471, 480; Ranga, 1934, 11–14). Those made landless by the restrictions on [464] forest swidden cultivation and also the labour surplus of the immigrant and rapidly expanding population were obliged to work in the plantations for wages, which were primarily used for buying grain in the markets. By 1870 Badaga men were getting contracts as construction gangs, a few women were picking tea or coffee-beans and young boys could be seen breaking stones by the roadside.[10]

241 • 311 Early in this century most Badaga families still owned and cultivated land within two kilometres of their homes. This land was usually hilly and always unirrigated. There was relatively little terracing on the hill-slopes (Grigg, 1880, 470), and most tilling [423] was still done with ploughs and oxen.[11] The best fields lay in the valley flats, not so much because of the proximity of stream water [492] as because of the rich deposit of topsoil. Badagas had long [407] recognized the differences in soils and terrain, both when choosing where to plant crops and when dividing up the patrimony. Soil distinctions were important to them, but distance from the home [423] was even more significant. Land was therefore categorized by Badagas primarily as home-farm (within a half kilometre), outfield, or jungle clearings.[2] The first type got much of the cattle manure and all human refuse; more distant land received little manure and was often left fallow (Grigg, 1880, 319–320, quoting from a Revenue Board Report probably of 1863); jungle clearings were never manured and could lie fallow for several years. Weeding, like manuring, was mostly confined to the more valuable crops growing near the home.

311 [423] A majority of the cultivable land on the plateau has always belonged to the Badagas; in the mid-nineteenth century this amounted to 12,750 hectares, of which some 6,900 ha. were cultivated each year; but thirty years later 'the occupied area of the plateau has trebled itself... mainly due to the extension of cultivation by the Badaga villagers'. During the twentieth century virtually all of the land under subsistence crops (barley, millets and wheat) as well as plateau land growing market [177] vegetables and fruits was farmed by Badagas and Kotas. On the other hand a majority of the land devoted to tea, coffee and 127 cinchona was in British-owned plantations. Few reliable figures

21 Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

127 are available for the total area under crop by Badagas.[14] In the case of the administrative 'village' of Sholur nevertheless good data (McIver & Stokes, 1883; Benson, 1884; Arputhanathan, 1953, 43; Subrahmanyam, 1962, 3–4) allow a realistic comparison with (128) the recent situation (see Table 1). This 'village' (actually a commune) may be considered typical of Badaga settlements and has hardly changed its official boundaries since the Land Settlement of 1884.[15]

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Table 1. *Sholur (So:lu:ru) 'Village': eighty years of agricultural change*

Total 'village' area, 1884	9113 hectares
Total 'village' area, 1961	9111 ha.
Registered *patta* lands, 1884	913 ha., all held by Badagas
Registered *patta* lands, 1962	1619 ha., nearly all held by Badagas
Number of *pattas*, 1884	49 single registrations, 63 joint ones (i.e., total of 112 *pattas)*
Number of *pattas*, 1962	372 in total
Population, 1881	1772, all communities, in 384 houses
Population, 1961	8518, all communities, in 930 houses
Estimate of cropped area, 1880–1881	749 ha.
Estimate of cropped area, 1962	607 ha.

From Table 1 evidence of several important shifts emerges:

A. In eighty years the population increased fivefold.

B. In eighty years the size of households doubled, from an average of 4.61 to an average of 9.15.[16]

C. In eighty years the number of registered land holdings *(pattas)* more than tripled.

D. In eighty years the area of *patta* land doubled through release of government-held reserves (but was not all cropped).

E. Fragmentation of holdings has thus been taking place.

F. The estimate of the total cultivated area in 1962 was a little below that for 1880–1881.

G. Average cultivated area has thus dropped from 0.42 ha. per capita in 1881 to 0.07 ha. per capita around 1961; in other words, only one-sixth as much cropped land is being used as there was in 1881 for each person.

178 We may conclude from the recent situation at Sholur (So:lu:ru)
433

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

1836; Metz, 1864, 6-7; Grigg, 1880, 456-458; Macleane, 1893, 403; Francis, 1908, 203, 441.

3. Metz, 1864, 8-9; an anna was 1/16 rupee, worth just under one U.S. cent today.

4. Grigg, 1880, 288, quoting from a report of December 1827; yet Harkness, 1832, 111, remarked that 'The poorer Burghers form the only class of labourers now to be procured on the hills . . .'

5. B.E.M.S., 1848, no. 18, 93; 1860, no. 20, 59; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 64; Grigg, 1880, 510-511; Watt, 1889, 465; Francis, 1908, 171, 176; Tanna, 1970, 17, 37. Tea was first grown here experimentally in 1835 from Chinese seeds, and coffee in 1838; Macleane, 1893, 403.

6. Baikie, 1857, 38, 92; Markham, 1862, 367; Metz, 1864, 99, 152-154; Ouchterlony, 1848, 2, 5, 28; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 71; Grigg, 1880, 465-467. The more important items in the list are identified botanically above, p. 146, n. 7.

7. Transferred back to Coimbatore District from Malabar in 1860; Grigg, 1880, 309, 322-323; Macleane, 1893, 216; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 78-79.

8. Grigg, 1880, 316, 321. On the shortcomings of their agriculture in this period, see Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 31-36; Grigg, 1880, 480; 'Geofry', 1881, 132-135.

9. Grigg, 1880, 325. The Settlement of land holdings took place in 1864-1884; Grigg, 1880, 321-323.

10. B.E.M.S., 1858, no. 18, 93; 1860, no. 20, 59; McPherson, 1870, 15, 18, 21; Grigg, 1880, 34, 219-220. Tea-pickers were usually lowland labourers, for Badaga women were then afraid of being near jungle even when in gangs.

11. A few ploughs are still in use near the Si:gu:ru Pass; other villages preserve old ploughs to venerate at an annual ceremony; but in general ploughs went out of use fifty years ago; Ranga, 1934, 8.

12. Francis, 1908, 165-166; Ranga, 1934, 11-14. The lands are called respectively *ha:lihola, ka:duhola* and *so:lahola;* see Plate I.

13. Grigg, 1880, 13, citing Ouchterlony, 1848, 14; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 14. It may be illuminating to cite an example of one administrative 'village'—Ke:ti Village—which reflects how much of the plateau land was formerly owned by Badagas. The available figures come from the 1881 land settlement records and show how 3235 hectares of this particular 'village' (actually a grouping of nearly two dozen villages) were distributed in the last years before the widespread adoption there of a cash economy:

Badaga farming lands	2,083 ha.
Badaga grazing ground	204 ha.
Toda grazing lands	51 ha.
Village sites (mainly Badaga)	90 ha.
Government forest areas	123 ha.
Anglo-Indian orphanage and school	307 ha.
Plantations (mainly British-owned)	175 ha.
Government cinchona plantation	2 ha.
Available for sale	200 ha.

(Source: Benson, 1881, 188-189)

From these data it is clear that this area, by no means an atypical one, was farmed largely by Badagas. (The 200 h.a. 'for sale' is somewhat misleading; it

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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was mostly in steep rocky places ill-suited to any cultivation.)

14. Grigg, 1880, 321, mentions there were 29,912 acres (12,105 ha.) of farming land on the plateau in 1862–1863 but considers this 'a fictitious number'. Fifteen years earlier Ouchterlony had estimated that the Badagas alone used 12,750 ha.; Grigg, 1880, 13.

15. It is 19 km. by road from Ootacamund and embraces the Badaga commune of So:lu:ru.

16. That Sholur was not atypical in this respect is suggested by the fact that in 1867 the average number of persons per Badaga household for the entire district was 4.36; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 61.

17. Land utilization figures for the entire district, 1905–1960, in Nambiar (1965), do not isolate the role of Badaga agriculture.

18. Ranga, 1934, 68. As early as 1908 Francis (p. 167) noted: 'Potatoes are much exported to Ceylon, the Straits [Malaya] and Burma . . .' It was in 1908 that the railway connecting Ootacamund with the plains was completed.

19. Ranga, 1934, 14–15, 18–22. 'In fact many planters advance money to Badagas to enable them to dig pits and plant tea . . . with the intention of being able to purchase that land'; Ranga, 1934, 15.

20. Merchants also granted credit for purchase of daily needs—at much inflated prices; Ranga, 1934, 73–74; Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 249. Such traders are an excellent example of Simmel's 'resident stranger', whose presence catalyses a peasant economy by affording credit; Simmel, 1923, 509–512.

21. De:vaso:le, Kolekombe, Se:las, Gudalu:ru, Manju:ru, Ki:kotagiri, Nedugula, and Naduvatta; Baikie, 1857, 38, 88; Grigg, 1880, 471.

22. Nambiar, 1965, 23. The first time this problem beset Badaga farmers was in 1880; B.E.M.S., 1880, no. 41, 37; Grigg, 1880; 134.

23. Ranga, 1934, 7–9. Badaga contractors had been involved in such work since the mid-nineteenth century; McPherson, 1870, 21.

24. Natesa Sastri, 1892, 753; Francis, 1908, 129; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 63; Ranga, 1934, 8; Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 248. These jobs included builders, blacksmiths, brickmakers, carpenters, clerks, domestic servants, painters, gardeners, washermen, teachers, printers, forest guards, tailors, barbers, water-carriers, stone-breakers, rickshaw-pullers, and even coolies and scavengers.

25. Jagor, 1876, 201–202; unlike most Hindus the Badagas do not employ washermen.

26. These were mainly Christians.

27. The categories are taken from the 1961 *Census of India*.

28. The designation is not recent; Francis, 1908, 265. On the Backward Classes generally, see Béteille, 1969, 87–145. Very recently the Nilgiri Hill Tribe Badaga Welfare Association was formed to promote government action in classifying Badagas as Scheduled Tribe, which would have material advantages for the community.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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178 wants to be regarded as an orthodox Shaivite would not wish to
184 attend a funeral where Kotas play dance-music beside the corpse: not only have the (once) carrion-eating Kotas (Breeks, 1873, 42; Grigg, 1880, 205, 479; Mandelbaum, 1960, 274) become 'Untouchables' in the new terminology, but Hindu orthodoxy frowns upon the idea of dancing at a funeral. The new orientation—for a man who is now more a Hindu citizen and less a Nilgiri peasant—seems appropriate to a Badaga who finds himself competing for jobs or official favours with people from all over southern India. The relatively conservative Badagas of Kundena:du, on the other hand, are among the wealthiest villagers in the district, as nearly all of their land is given over to flourishing tea and coffee plantations. This source of profit and employment is apparently so secure that these people do not feel themselves in serious competition for positions with men from elsewhere. Their confidence in the
177 future allows them to continue at least their ceremonial links with
178 the local Kotas. Few tools are now made by those Kotas, however,
184 for the great quantity of specialized metal items including machinery needed on a plantation has necessarily to be sought in towns, and furthermore these particular Kotas are preoccupied with their own tea estates. Both Kotas and Badagas here activate their traditional relationship only so far as economic expediency permits: where the required tool is too complicated for a blacksmith to make, where the market has the same item at a lower price or where one's labour can be more profitably spent on plantation work than on some customary obligation, the traditional links fall into abeyance (Mandelbaum, 1955, 240).

Similar adaptations to the expanding cash economy may be
177 seen in other aspects of the traditional intercommunity relations.
178 Few Todas, to mention another example, now take the trouble to make their annual rounds of Badaga villages in search of their customary dues: Todas feel this smacks of beggary, while most Badagas would find reasons for not giving anything. Badagas for their part never request the Todas to come and take their gifts and only rarely may seek out a Toda friend when a special requirement can be obtained only from him.

In a survey made in 1963 it was found that 33% of Badaga respondents no longer had any contact with or attitude towards the Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas; and the younger they were, the
418 more alienated they felt from these tribes. Nevertheless many more respondents in all age groups disliked the Kurumbas than disliked

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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175 177 school had been opened in De:na:du; yet it was only after 1856 that Badagas perceived some value in schooling. This value lay in Tamil literacy, which was slowly becoming the one sure passport to such coveted official positions as *karnam* and *manegar*.

177 178 During the 1860s and 1870s legislation put an end to shifting cultivation, cutting timber in the jungle and paying a light tax on undemarcated land holdings. No longer was there land available for everyone to clear and farm: those who could not pay the government land-tax became tenant small-holders, landless labourers or plantation workers. These successive blows to the customary farming practice, following hard upon the first Christian conversion (1858), fostered a half-century of mistrust of Europeans which the numerous epidemics, droughts, conversions, temple rebuildings and surveys of field ownership did nothing to dispel. Over this period land erosion became a serious problem, fields were inadequately manured and rarely terraced, much Badaga land was sold to European planters, and indebtedness became widespread. Only some villages near the towns achieved a measure of prosperity. Jakkatala, a prime case, sold much of its land to the government for the Wellington Barracks and then profitted further from contracts for gangs of labourers to build the barracks and some other public structures. By the turn of the century a few families had become very wealthy as contractors, some of them in building the railway to Ootacamund.

178 311 [161] At the start of the twentieth century the Badaga population had climbed to 34,000 (having increased fifteen-fold in the preceding century), and the density of the rural labour force had also increased appreciably through continued immigration. Alongside this growth Grigg (1880, 321) had observed: '... each year has the area of cultivation and permanent occupation been extending with the growth in numbers of the hill-tribes [Badagas], the increase of wealth among them, and the great extension of plantations.'[2]

178 241 Although tea, coffee and potato had been grown in the district for over half a century, it was only with the onset of World War I and the completion of the Nilgiri railway that Badagas shifted the emphasis in their farming from millets to potato and in the 1920s to tea as well. This made many of them cash-crop farmers, since they did not eat much potato and had to buy their food-grains in the bazaar. Their initial interest in tea cultivation was merely as a 'method of increasing the value of land before selling it to European planters.

241 cription. Jungle clearings often lay fallow for several years. Weeding, like manuring, was also restricted for the most part to crops growing near the home.

[492] Prior to 1913 there was almost no terracing of the hill-slopes, and most of the tilling was done by plows drawn by pairs of oxen (Grigg 1880: 470). Coffee and tea were being grown extensively by the British at that time, but the chief Badaga crops were barley, samai and korali (the latter two being millets). No 178 311 figures are readily available for the total area of land under crop by Badagas in those days: it was reportedly little below the present amount. In the case of the administrative "village" of Sholur, nevertheless, some data are available and we can make a realistic comparison. This village is typical of Badaga settlements and has hardly changed its official boundaries since the land settlement of 1884:

Total village area, 1884:	22,520 acs.
Total village area, 1962:	22,912 acs.
[423] Registered patta lands, 1884:	2,257 acs., all held by Badagas
Estimate of patta lands, 1962:	4,000 acs., nearly all held by Badagas
Number of pattas, 1884:	49 single ones, 63 joint registrations (i.e. total of 112 pattas)
Number of pattas, 1962:	372 total
[161] Population, 1881:	1772 total
Population, 1951:	5278 total (more recent figures not available)
Estimate of crop acreage, 1880-81:	1850 acs.
Estimate of crop acreage, 1962:	1500 acs.

(Sources -- McIver & Stokes 1883; Benson 1884; Arputhanathan 1953: 43; Subrahmanyam 1962: 3-4.)

178 [161] [423] From this comparison evidence of several important changes emerges:

a) in 70 years the population has tripled;

b) in 80 years the number of registered land holdings (pattas) has more than tripled;

[423] c) in 80 years the acreage of patta land has doubled (through release of

178 government-held reserves);

(423) d) fragmentation of holdings has thus been taking place;

(311) e) the estimate of total cultivated acreage in 1962 was slightly below that for 1880-81.

128 Some official figures can be presented, in addition to these, to illustrate the shift in importance of various crops in the entire plateau area. These figures come from two different sources (Francis 1908: 164, and Madras 1949: 976), and show the percentage of the total cultivated area devoted to each crop. The earlier figures apparently relate to the year 1905-06, and the later ones to 1940-41, 35 years later.

178 241 311

	COONOOR TALUK (Paranginad & Merkunad)		OOTACAMUND TALUK (Todanad & Kunda)	
	1905-06	1940-41	1905-06	1940-41
Mainly Subsistence Crops:				
Wheat	1.7%	2.8%	2.9%	3.3%
Barley	5.4	2.7	3.4	4.2
Ragi	1.5	1.9	7.1	4.5
Samai	14.7	6.3	4.3	6.2
Other grains	13.1	0.7	27.8	1.1
Pulses	--	1.9	--	0.5
Cash Crops:				
Vegetables (mainly potato) and fruits	5.2% (potato: 4.8%)	18.6%	3.9% (potato: 3.2%)	30.3%
Spices, condiments	0.3	0.7	0.9	1.1
Coffee	44.6	25.6	18.1	15.8
Tea	7.7	42.7	12.8	32.3
Cinchona	1.1	0.08	10.9	4.0
Miscellaneous "industrial" plants	4.7	5.9	7.9	6.6

128 241 It may be objected that while the figures for each taluk in 1905-06 total 100%, those for 1940-41 total somewhat more than 100%. This discrepancy reflects one important change in the 35-year period: double-cropping became a fairly com-

128 mon practice. Thus two crops represented above by separate figures would some-
241 times be growing simultaneously on the same piece of land. (All percentages are based on acreage.)

128 Our main problem in interpreting these figures arises from the fact that
178 we cannot be certain how much of the land under these crops was in fact owned by
241 Badagas. A majority of the cultivable land in these areas has always belonged to
●311 the Badagas; just how much, has not been calculated. Even so, we can be certain that virtually all of the land under subsistence crops during this century was farmed by Badagas; this was also true of land growing market vegetables and fruits. A majority of the land devoted to tea, coffee and cinchona, on the other hand, was in British-owned plantations. Coffee turned out not to be too successful a crop in many parts of the plateau, and so the land was later given over to t.a. This fact, together with the appearance of Badaga tea plantations from about 1925 onward, accounts for the great increase in tea acreage over the 35-year period (Ranga 1934: 18-22).

311 It might be illuminating at this point to cite an example of one administra-
423 tive "village" in Merkunad -- Kettl Village -- which reflects how much of the plateau land was owned by Badagas. The figures that are available come from the 1881 Land Settlement records, and show how the 7993 acres of this particular "village" were distributed in the years prior to the Badagas' adoption of a cash economy:

Badaga farming lands	5157 acs.
Badaga grazing ground	496 acs.
Toda grazing lands	128 acs.
Village sites	222 acs.
Government forest areas	296 acs.
An Anglo-Indian orphanage and school	762 acs.
Estates (mainly British-owned)	440 acs.
Government cinchona plantation	5 acs.
Available for sale	487 acs.

(Source -- Benson 1881: 188-89.)

311 423 From these figures it is clear that this plateau area, by no means an atypical one, was farmed largely by Badagas. (The 487 acs. of land "for sale" is somewhat misleading: this was mostly on steep rocky slopes ill-suited to any cultivation.)

Let us now return to the figures on crop acreage (p. 96).

178 241 What were the most important changes in the crop-pattern between 1905 and 1940, the two years for which data are available? Wheat, barley, ragi and spices changed very little in importance. A small acreage of pulses appeared in the later figures only. Cinchona lost some of its importance, but this was mainly on British-owned plantations. Miscellaneous "industrial" plants, primarily eucalyptus, maintained a stable acreage. The very slight fluctuations in all of these figures tell us very little. But other fluctuations are much greater, and much more illuminating. Samai, korali and some other millets lost much of their significance in the eyes of the Badagas, although these crops had previously been among the traditional staples. The land was planted with potatoes instead, especially after the start of the 1914-1918 War. In the 35-year period examined potatoes, together with some other quite minor vegetables, increased their acreage some five- or six-fold. Badagas do not eat much potato; clearly they sacrificed most of the acreage traditionally devoted to staple grains in order to grow marketable vegetables (Ranga 1934: 68). By the Second World War only 3% of the entire Nilgiri population subsisted mainly on millets; the other 97% depended on rice (Krishnaswami 1947: 464).

Some major changes also occurred over this period in the plantations; but these changes affected Badagas less. The importance of cinchona decreased as malaria became less of a problem and cures other than quinine appeared in India. Coffee, while still a major crop in 1940-41, had not been too successful and so lost some of its former eminence; but tea, conversely, had increased in importance

6: Noble K,4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
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Kota AW55

B Ko 433 [241]

and other cereals, and probably from their kitchen gardens obtained most produce which was bartered or sold. In the later part of the last century shifting slash-burn agriculture was legally abolished. During this century the Badagas and Kotas abandoned the use of plows and turned to commercial potato production. Economic differentiation between the two groups is based mainly on the fact that Kotas have been partially supported by basketry, blacksmithing, carpentry, hide curing, pot making, and the playing of music. These supplementary activities of the Kotas, practiced to varying degrees by other Indian groups, are commonly associated with low social ranking.

Ko 433

1. The Badagas

B 861 [175] [311]

Occupance pattern. Most Badaga hamlets and villages are located above 6,000 feet and east of the grasslands inhabited mainly by Todas (Figure 2). Harkness' description of Hanjanad before 1832 indicates that the basic Badaga occupance pattern remains unchanged. There was cultivated land around the village, and cattle grazed on nearby grasslands. Houses aligned horizontally into two house-rows on a hill side had joined front porches facing the down slope. A flat courtyard before each house-row was used to hand-thresh and dry grain in the sun. Both courtyards were edged on the outside by low stone walls. At one end of the village there was a compacted circle on which cattle trod out grain, and at the other end there were several cattle enclosures (Harkness 1832: 36-37). Badaga farmers continue to live together in communities, and they cultivate nearby kitchen gardens plus near to distant dry fields (Plate X, A). Coffee, tea, and multilayer gardens

B [342]
B 243 [351] [361]
B 241 [361]

241 with mixed plants are also maintained, but these gardens may be miles
away from their owners' houses and on outer Nilgiri slopes. Because
423 land is divided equally among sons upon a father's death, extensive
428 land fragmentation has taken place. To prevent further fragmentation,
there is now a tendency for sons to share and jointly manage land.
311 Communal pastures are close enough to permit the keeping of livestock
361 in communities. Individually owned and communal plots covered with
245 acacia, eucalyptus, and temperate fruit trees now occur near Badaga
137 communities. Due to intensive or slowly continued temperate forest
318 clearance, only a few small remnant patches of natural fore main
on the slopes near many hamlets and villages.

The outstanding features of Badaga hamlets and villages are the
361 house-rows with compacted earth courtyards edged by low walls (Figure
351 17). House rows within a single community usually parallel each other
and are frequently aligned in an easterly-westerly direction, but on
961 flatter terrain they may surround a courtyard on two sides. Because
364 the Badagas consider it sinful to throw waste water toward the sun,
783 Lord Shiva's emblem, through alignment of houses in an easterly-west-
erly direction housewives may throw waste water through the back door
or over the front courtyard wall without throwing it toward the sun.
841 One dwelling within a community house-row is set apart as a confinement
place for menstruating women or women undergoing a postnatal pollution
368 period. In addition to dwellings, house-like temples are built into
243 house-rows. Grain is threshed and agricultural produce or firewood is
313 dried on the courtyards. These also serve as playgrounds for children,
857 as sites for performance of ceremonial rites, and as dance arenas
796
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439 to pay the government tax (presumably land revenue). Badagas slowly
(651) adopted "English" vegetables, the term commonly applied to vegetables introduced by the English (Table III). By 1865 the Badagas were growing potatoes, which were to become their main commercial crop (Markham 1862: 367; Metz 1864: 153-154).

241 Major changes in crop emphasis from the late 1800s to the
311 present are best revealed by statistics resulting mainly from Badaga cultivation. In 1875 there were 15,728 acres of Italian millet, 4,662 acres of little millet, 3,761 acres of barley, 3,430 acres of finger millet, 3,199 acres of wheat, only 754 acres of potatoes, 355 acres of mustard, 169 acres of vegetables, 144 acres of fenugreek, 67 acres of horse gram (Dolichos biflorus L.), and 66 acres of poppies grown on the Nilgiris (Grigg et al. 1880: xii). In 1895 Italian millet was still the leading crop, but potato acreage had risen to 2,032 acres. Poppies outlawed by the 1878 Opium Act were no longer grown (Benson 1895: 432-433). Little millet had become the most cultivated cereal in 1905, and finger millet was growing in importance (Francis 1908: 164). Demands for potatoes during World War I helped to convert Badaga agriculture from a subsistence stage with some commercial crop production to a commercial farming stage. In 1914 there were about 4,000 acres with potatoes on the Nilgiris, but by 1920 potato acreage had doubled (Rao and Azariah 1953: 69). Before 1925 finger and little millets became the two important cereal crops, and remained the leading cereals from that time (Wood 1927: 210-223). Potato acreage has continually increased: by 1938 there were 12,000 acres, by 1950 almost 17,000 acres, and in 1960-61 there was a total

241
(656)
(177)
(311)
(310)

241 of 20,600 acres in the main season and 2,400 acres in the lesser (Rao
(311) and Azariah 1953: 69; Krishnamurthi 1953: 193; Madras Department of Agriculture 1960-61: single page). The production of the 1960-61
(433) potato crop was approximately 61,900 tons and 7,060 tons. Most pota-
(439) toes are shipped to Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, and other parts of India via Mettupalaiyam city at the base of the Nilgiris (Figure 1).

175 Despite increased potato production on dry fields and the eat-
241 ing of imported rice by Badagas, most early 1800 cereals continue to
439 be cultivated on dry fields. Cereals raised mainly for home consumption also enter local markets. Produce from old commercial plants, excluding poppies, is still sold locally and on the plains. These plants are grown with "English" vegetables in kitchen gardens. Apart from potatoes, other "English" vegetables (Table III)--cabbages and
175 carrots for example--are sometimes raised as dry field crops. Fruit
245 trees originating from nectarine, peach, and plum plants introduced before 1836 (Table III) and Chinese pears introduced in 1846 (Price 1908: 125) are grown in Badaga orchards. Mandarin oranges grown in
439 multilayer gardens are also of some commercial importance. Badagas have taken advantage of ready markets for fruit and "English" vegetables. Since completion of the railroad to Ootacamund in 1908, European and Indian families scattered over India have purchased, through agents, baskets of fruit and "English" vegetables sent out at periodic intervals from the Nilgiris. On market days produce from Badaga landholdings is displayed and sold in the Coonoor, Kotagiri,
(245) Ootacamund, and smaller markets. A few Badagas use their kitchen gardens to grow introduced berries (Table III), and strawberries in

439 [245] particular are sold by vendors who wait near entrances into the main stores in Coonoor, Kotagiri, and Ootacamund.

245 (175) Long after the introduction of tea before 1836 (Table III) and coffee in 1838 (Athrey 1953: 11), enterprising Badagas turned to coffee and tea planting. Ranga (1934: 19-21) recorded these facts concerning [433] [439] their earlier tea planting: During a single week in 1928 a European planter purchased 17,000 pounds of green tea leaf from Badagas. Between 1928 and 1930 Badagas in four communities increased their tea (311) acreages to approximately 400 acres. By 1934 a Badaga woman managed a tea nursery, and a Kotagiri tea planter was purchasing all the tea leaf he could obtain from Badagas. In the 1960 Planting Directory over 100 Badagas are listed as coffee and tea growers. Their holdings range in size from six acres of tea to a tea garden with 190 acres of tea and a factory or from 15 acres of coffee to a garden with 158 acres of arabica coffee and 59 acres of tea (United Planters Association of Southern India 1960: 38-81). According to the tentative definition of a plantation used in this study (Appendix A), the two largest gardens would qualify as plantations--and are the only listed Badaga holdings with such large dimensions. Tea leaf from many listed and a much larger number of smaller unlisted holdings is processed in nearby company factories, or in small factories owned by Badagas or Lingayats.

Acacia and eucalyptus trees were first grown on the Nilgiris before 1836 (Table III). Badagas have since planted many acacias and eucalypti on land in and between their communities. From these trees are obtained acacia bark for tannin, eucalyptus oil, and firewood.

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)

AW50	Badaga	AW50
	Kota	AW55
	Kurumba	AW56
	Toda	AW60
Madras Tribes		AW63
	Kasuva	

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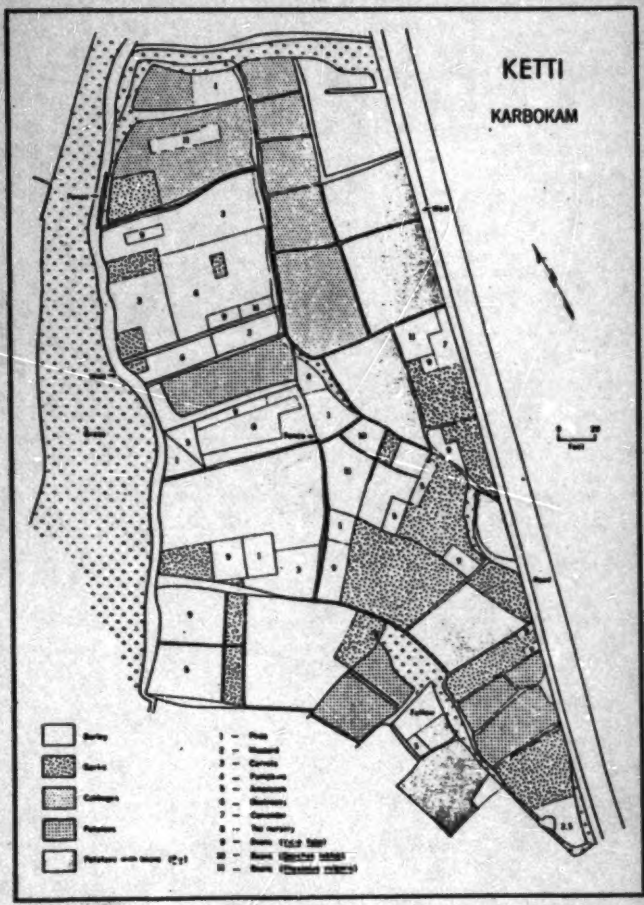

Figure 19. Plots cultivated in the main season

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60
Madras Tribes AW63
Kasuva

241
•311

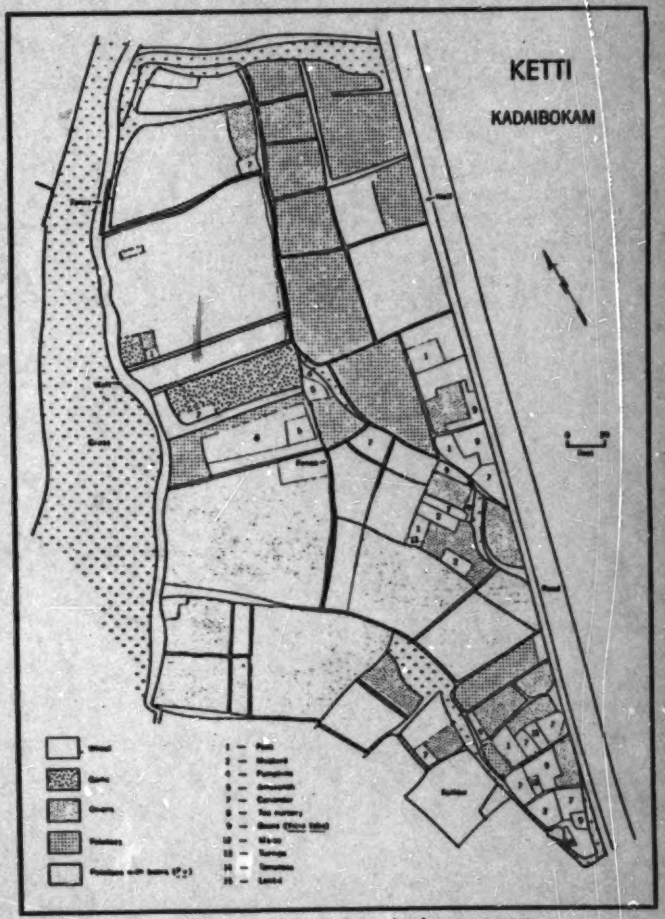

Figure 20. The same plots cultivated in the lesser season

241 651 were transferred from Malabar to the Nilgiri District in 1860. After a farmer paid a tax ranging from one to one rupee and eight annas per plow, or four to eight annas per hoe (erkadu kottukadu revenue system), he could cultivate as much land as he desired to in any chosen locality. Forest lands were not excluded. Consequently, cultivated plots were constantly being abandoned for new ones opened up or recleared. The two land revenue systems resulting in shifting agriculture were formally abolished in 1863, but in actual practice they lingered on until about 1884 (Francis 1908: 268-270).

651 In 1863 the English instituted a system of taxation whereby farmers were expected to pay taxes on all claimed lands, but inaccurate knowledge concerning claimed lands and actual agricultural practices led to continuance of old ways. As a result of the Final Land Settlement of 1881-84, all claimed lands were mapped and accurately recorded [423] for taxation purposes. Each individual was given a title (patta) to his land, but from thenceforth was expected to pay land revenue based on land extent and quality (Francis 1908: 274-278). During post-1884 •311 years remnants of old practices remained. Although Badagas paid revenue according to the lands owned by them, an individual's scattered [651] plots away from a community might be cultivated periodically during the years, or left vacant for years until the owner decided to place more land under cultivation. Plots close to a community, especially those used for kitchen gardens, were usually cultivated at least once [178] a year (Ranga 1934: 13-16). Nowadays, however, 1) fertilizer applica- [291] tion, 2) cash obtained through potato sales, 3) the spreading desire to plant more tea, and 4) decreasing opportunities for individuals to

311 purchase cultivable land near Badaga communities have lowered the
(178) possibilities of land away from a community remaining uncultivated
(241) from year to year.

175 The agricultural cycle. Harkness (1832: 136-137) gave details
221 concerning two yearly agricultural seasons, each of which coincided
241 with westerly or easterly monsoons. Italian, koda (Paspalum scrobiculatum L.), little, and finger millet, amaranth, barley, wheat, garlic, onions, and mustard were sown in May, then harvested from August into September. After this main season ground was sometimes left fallow until the following May, but some Badagas prepared soil almost immediately for chick peas (Cicer arietinum L.), fenugreek, lentil (Ervum lens L.), and poppies, which were all said to be harvested in December and January. Harkness, however, understated the maturation time for poppies--a period closer to nine months. Poppy seeds were probably planted in May, for cooler weather during dry months was the best time to extract poppy juice. In March and April seeds of gourds, pumpkins, and lablab beans were planted. From the first two species and their progeny produce was gathered for years. Lablab beans mature in five to seven months, depending upon the variety grown. Another millet identified as koralie (another variety of Italian millet?) and sown in March-April supposedly took nine months to mature, but it is doubtful that this grain grew so long before maturing.

221 The two agricultural seasons of the year have persisted. Sowing
241 and planting during the main season (karbokam) take place from March into April, and harvesting extends from July into September. In the